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prise a mass of material gathered from "the more obvious and accessible sources" which throw light on the proceedings of the convention. Appendix A contains four hundred and nineteen documents of varying character, chiefly consisting of the letters of delegates written during the sessions of the convention, or statements made by them subsequently, either publicly or in their private correspondence. Another appendix includes the list of the delegates, their credentials and a record of their attendance. It shows that while seventy-four were elected only fifty-five actually served, and many of these were in attendance only a portion of the time. The remaining appendices present the texts of the chief plans before the convention, and all that is known of their origin.

Although the greater number of these documents had been previously printed, they have now for the first time been brought together from widely scattered publications to form a collection comprising nearly everything of value that relates to the work of the convention. Supplementing the texts are a wealth of notes, annotations and cross references to related documents, which greatly enhance the practical value of these volumes. Two indices are provided the one to the clauses of the constitution the other general in character. By means of the first it is possible to trace the evolution of a particular clause. The general index is the only unsatisfactory feature of the work, as it is not sufficiently comprehensive. An exhaustive index was probably thought unnecessary, in view of the index to the constitution and the numerous cross references employed.

It is fitting that due recognition should be accorded to the editor not only for the accuracy and breadth of his scholarship, but also for the painstaking industry required in attending to all the laborious details of the truly stupendous task of assembling, editing and seeing through the press this monumental work. It is destined to be recognized as the standard and definitive edition of the work of the most notable constitutional body ever assembled on this continent.

HERMAN V. AMES.

University of Pennsylvania.

Fisher, H. A. L. *The Republican Tradition in Europe.* Pp. xii, 363. Price, \$2.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911.

Essays such as these are attractive both on account of their subject matter and because of their literary form. They do not attempt to be exhaustive discussions but to sketch the main outlines of a movement which has now, as the author tells us, done its work and survives in the normal European mind only as a tradition.

The middle ages are dismissed with two short chapters. The monarchical form of government supported by the church, was accepted with but little question. Political thought strongly influenced by political conditions had no room for development. Even in Italy the city republics were essentially unrepresentative in the modern sense. Nor did the Protestant revolt break down the reverence for monarchy—indeed, at least at first its leaders were

ardent supporters of the established governments. Its influence, though great in breaking down European conservatism, was only indirectly, if at all, a force favorable to popular government. Nor do the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries speak for republican institutions. Even Rousseau failed to show how a republican government could be given to a large and rich state.

But the force of the American example was not lost in Europe, especially in France, where economic conditions and the national spirit were now preparing a revolt against established institutions. But even the French Revolution was not at first one against the king, and against monarchy as an institution there was hardly a voice till 1790. Republican enthusiasm, in fact, was soon overshadowed by the humanitarian enthusiasm for "liberty" and the desire for national glory. The victorious republic of France brought to Europe as a whole the substance of republicanism, though not its form, except in France itself. The breakdown of the old feudal principalities, the introduction of a system of government in which there is a greater degree of popular control, and an increased sense of responsibility on the part of monarchs, these were the permanent benefits which the revolution brought.

Republican enthusiasm continued to grow in Europe till 1848. But the Germans, Italians and Spanish were not won by it to abandon their attachment to monarchy. France itself only did so with great travail and by surrounding the republic with the pomp of the government she had overthrown. Monarchy, the author insists, is now more firmly intrenched than in 1848. Many causes have brought the change. The political intelligence of monarchs has improved. People have come to realize that the form of executive does not measure political or civil liberty. These latter have expanded not at the expense of monarchy, but at the expense of the privileged classes. Social reform has diverted attention from political reform. The successful policies of Bismarck have reawakened the popular confidence in strong monarchy. Finally, imperialism is unrepublican, the monarch is the great symbol of empire. No enthusiasm, the author declares, can be aroused for an elected president in a country composed of such diverse elements as the modern empire. "The republican movement has done its work. Its ideals have been appropriated—into the political system of Europe and most of the domestic programme of 1848 is now fixed—in the institutions of the continent which, save only in France, Switzerland and Portugal retains an explicit devotion to hereditary monarchy."

The ardent republican will find this book filled with a negative message. He who is enthusiastic for the substance, rather than the form of political and social freedom, will find it a chronicle of positive advance. Republican ideals in Europe are by no means a tradition.

CHESTER LLOYD JONES.

University of Wisconsin.

Fisher, Joseph R. *The End of the Irish Parliament.* Pp. xii, 316. Price,

\$3.00. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1911.

Mr. Fisher's principal object is "to detach and bring into relief the events